

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 202641

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ORIGIN EA-07

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APPROVED BY: EA/J - MR. ERICSON

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

INFO CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 202641

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO BONN LONDON PARIS OCT 11
REPEATED TO YOU:

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 13168

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

REF: STATE 199763

1. POL COUNSELOR CALLED ON FONOFF FIRST NA DIV HEAD TO
RECEIVE RUN DOWN ON CONVERSATION BETWEEN PRIMIN TANAKA
AND PRESIDENT POMPIDOU CONCERNING DECLARATION OF
PRINCIPLES. (VICE MIN HOGEN HAD DISCUSSED SUBJECT BRIEFLY
WITH AMBASSADOR INGERSOLL DURING AMBASSADOR'S CALL AT
FONOFF OCTOBER 3, SEE TOKYO 12871).

2. FUKADA, BASING REMARKS ON TELEGRAM FONOFF HAD RECEIVED
FROM JAPANESE EMBASSY PARIS, SAID TANAKA INTRODUCED
SUBJECT WITH LONG AND SOMEWHAT RAMBLING DISSERTATION
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PAGE 02 STATE 202641

ON ORIGINAL RATIONALE OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S IDEA.

TANAKA SAID EC WAS ORIGINALLY FOUNDED TO COPE WITH LARGE NUMBER OF PROBLEMS ARISING AFTER WORLD WAR II, INCLUDING CURRENCY, ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND DEVELOPMENT, SPACE EXPLORATION, COMMUNICATIONS, AND ENERGY AND TARIFF REDUCTIONS, ALL OF WHICH REQUIRED MULTILATERAL APPROACHES TO ACHIEVE SOLUTIONS. RECENT EXPANSION OF EC TO NINE MEMBERS HAD SAME BASIC PURPOSE.

3. TANAKA EXPRESSED VIEW TO POMPIDOU THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER'S IDEA TO SOME EXTENT HAS SIMILAR BASIC RATIONALE. NEED FOR BROADENING MULTILATERAL FRAMEWORK EXPLAINS INCLUSION OF JAPAN, AUSTRALIA AND CANADA IN SOME FORM OF ASSOCIATION WITH US AND EUROPE. TANAKA TOLD POMPIDOU IT WAS IN THIS SPIRIT THAT HE RECEIVED AND ACCEPTED SECRETARY'S PROPOSALS.

4. POMPIDOU REPORTEDLY RESPONDED TO TANAKA'S PRESENTATION BY ACKNOWLEDGING THAT KISSINGER PROPOSALS DO CLEARLY RECOGNIZE THAT IN FUTURE NEW BASIS FOR MULTILATERAL CONSIDERATION OF PROBLEMS MUST BE CREATED, AND THAT PROBLEMS MUST BE APPROACHED BY ALL COUNTRIES CONCERNED, RATHER THAN ONLY BY TWO SUPER POWERS AS IS TRUE TODAY. POMPIDOU MAINTAINED, HOWEVER, THAT PROPOSALS CANNOT CONCEAL BASIC INTENT OF DR. KISSINGER TO TREAT U.S., USSR, AND PRC -- POWERS WITH MASSIVE POPULATIONS -- DIFFERENTLY FROM REST OF NATIONS CONCERNED. THREE GREAT POWERS ARE CLEARLY ACCORDED FIRST-RATE POSITION IN PROPOSALS, WITH EUROPE, JAPAN AND CANADA CONSIDERED SOMEHOW SUBSERVIENT TO US.

5. POMPIDOU TOLD TANAKA THAT HE WAS IN FULL AGREEMENT THAT DEFENSE OF EUROPE REQUIRES CONTINUATION OF US NUCLEAR UMBRELLA, AND HE ASSUMED THAT SAME IS TRUE FOR JAPAN. FRANCE ALSO RECOGNIZES AND ACCEPTS IMPORTANCE OF COOPERATION BETWEEN FRANCE AND US. EUROPE, HOWEVER, HAS UNIQUE IDENTITY AND MUST NOT PERMIT ITSELF TO BE MADE PAWN IN CHESS GAME IN WHICH US IS MASTER.

6. POMPIDOU TOLD TANAKA THAT HE FOUND CANADIANS TO BE EQUALLY SKEPTICAL OF KISSINGER PROPOSALS. HE ALSO CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 STATE 202641

RECALLED THAT DURING VISIT TO PEKING, CHINESE ASKED WHY JAPAN HAD TO BE INCLUDED ALONG WITH EUROPE IN PROPOSALS. POMPIDOU WENT ON TO SAY THAT, IN HIS OPINION, RED CARPET TREATMENT HE UNDERSTOOD CHINESE WERE PREPARING FOR CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU MAY VERY WELL BE RELATED TO CHINESE ATTITUDE TOWARD PROPOSAL.

7. POMPIDOU SAID PROPOSALS COULD RESULT IN NEW RICH

MAN'S CLUB AND CAUSE BASIC FRUSTRATION FOR LDC'S.
POMPIDOU EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THIS COULD IN WORST
CASE TURN LDC'S TOWARD USSR AND CHINA AND MAKE THEM
DANGEROUSLY RADICAL IN THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARD
INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS OF WORLD.

8. POMPIDOU TOLD TANAKA THAT EC REACTION TO PROPOSALS
AS IT EMERGED FROM RECENT COPENHAGEN MINISTERIAL MEETING
WAS VERY COOL. HE FELT VERY STRONGLY THAT DR. KISSINGER
DOES NOT WANT EUROPE TO ASSUME ITS OWN INDEPENDENT
POSITION. FRANCE INSISTS THAT IT DOES NOT OPPOSE CLOSER
RELATIONS BETWEEN US, EUROPE AND JAPAN, BUT THESE CLOSER
RELATIONSHIPS SHOULD NOT BE ACHIEVED ONLY THROUGH U.S.
INITIATIVE AND MEDIATION. U.S. SHOULD NOT EXPECT TO
STAND AT APEX OF TRIANGLE.

9. TANAKA RESPONDED TO POMPIDOU WITH BRIEF EXPLANATION
OF U.S. MOTIVATION IN SUGGESTING NEW DECLARATION OF
PRINCIPLES AND BROADER, CLOSER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
U.S., EUROPE AND JAPAN. TANAKA SAID U.S. IS NOT IN
ANY WAY INSISTING IT SHOULD BE AT CENTER OF BROADENED
RELATIONSHIPS. HE TOLD POMPIDOU THAT JAPAN UNDERSTANDS
AMERICAN INITIATIVE TO CONSTITUTE OFFER TO BE ONE
OF GROUP OF NATIONS AND NOT PREDOMINANT MEMBER.

10. POMPIDOU THEN SAID HE BELIEVES U.S. OBJECTIVE
IN NEW PROPOSALS IS ULTIMATELY USSR. WHOLE APPROACH
IS DESIGNED TO MAKE U.S. POSITION IN RELATION TO USSR
MORE ADVANTAGEOUS. U.S. POLICY TOWARD CHINA PROBABLY
ALSO FITS IN THIS SAME PATTERN. POMPIDOU WARNED TANAKA
THAT IT WOULD BE MISTAKE TO ORGANIZE SCHEME THAT IS
DIRECTLY ANTAGONISTIC TO USSR.
INGERSOLL UNQUOTE KISSINGER
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PAGE 04 STATE 202641

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